

A short and true  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
MATERIAL PASSAGES  
In the late  
W A R  
Between the  
ENGLISH  
AND  
D U T C H.

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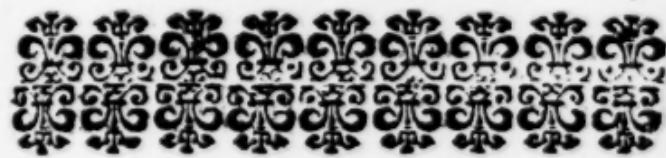
Written by the Right Honourable  
the Earl of CASTLEMAIN,  
And now published by Thomas  
Price Gent.

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1820.12



## TO THE READER

*L*iving in the remote parts of Wales, far from the stage on which those great actions of war between the Hollanders and us were lately acted, I suffered myself by those false reports of our enemies abroad, backt by the Male-contents at home, to be almost drawn

A 2      into

into an opinion that we had  
the worst in the late Military  
engagement : possessed with  
these reports, I laid aside all  
thoughts of future enquiry, as  
fearing the more I div'd into  
matters of this kind, the less  
satisfaction I should find ;  
till coming the last Term to  
London, about some affairs,  
I casually light among the  
kindred and friends of the  
Right Honourable the Earl  
of Castlemain on this his  
Relation ; which I am per-  
suaded may undeceive  
others as it did me, and  
therefore I suppose my pub-  
lishing it will be no ungrate-  
ful

ful service to the Nation.

At the beginning of the war his Lordship being abroad, understood what all our neighbors thought would come of it: in the war his Lordship attended the Duke, whilst he was at sea, at the Treaty he was near Breda, and since hath been often in Holland, and therefore this, with his acquaintance with our Court and Ministers, must needs afford him an exact knowledge of the whole business; adding to this, the long experience I have had of his Lordships great integrity,

grity, I find no place left to suspect the Relation. And since Money is that in all Governments, which encourages Allies, and frightens enemies, his Lordship we see, would not omit to speak with all modest advantage of the Revenue and Power of the Crown. He writ it almost Three years agoe, and then printed it in French to undeceive our neighbors, whom the Hollanders did by too much dexterity before abuse. There are many now in England that have seen the French anonymous Copy, and

and know what good it did  
in the Courts of Forraign  
Princes ; and truly fearing  
that some unskilful body  
might translate it into En-  
glish, as I hear some intend,  
I thought best to publish it  
by his Lordships own Ori-  
ginal. Since his Lordship  
printed this in Flanders  
for the Honor of his Coun-  
try, he has for his own sa-  
tisfaction and knowledge,  
travailed almost over all  
Europe, has also taken a  
view of all the Mediterra-  
nean coasts of Africk, and our  
considerable Town of Tan-  
gier ; in Asia he hath seen

A 4              the

the best Maritime Towns of  
the Ottoman Empire, and  
visited in Syria and Pale-  
stine, the places most famous  
by our Saviour's presence,  
and his working our Re-  
demption in them; to which  
places he has not only the  
common relation of a Chri-  
stian, but a particular one  
also, as the giving the name  
of Palmer or Pilgrim to his  
Ancient Family: for so  
Philpot in his description of  
Kent calleth it. pag. 364.

For after the end of the  
Holy War, and their return  
home, his Lordships Ancest-  
ors plac't themselves at  
Stenning

Stanning in Sussex, matching with the Noble Family of the Pelhams, then with the Heiress of Sofham, another ancient Saxon Family, by whom they had Angmering, a place of their long abode. Presently after they married the Heiress of Parham, so that they had Two of the prime Estates of that County, and have since brancht into Kent, Bucks, Wilts, Wales, &c. Nor did they in after-times leave this worthy custome of matching with Noble Families, so that it would be tedious to mention all the

No.

Nobility they are related to; nay, my Lord's Mother (being daughter to the Lord Powis, a branch of the Illustrious house of Pembroke, and her Mother, Daughter to the Earl of Northumberland) gives him so much of the blood of the Percy's, that after the house of Leicester and Essex, no man is nearer the late Earl than his Lordship. And for the Nevils I have seen a draught of his Lordships Relation, to that Family, both by Father and Mother's side, written in his own hand by that eminent know-

*knowing Gentleman in Antiquity, Charles Nevill, of King's Colledge in Cambridge, where my Lord also studied.*

*And since I mention my Lord's Family, I cannot omit Two unwonted passages recounted in it ; the First is, That Sir Edward Palmer of Angmering, Great Great Grandfather to my Lord, being married to the co-Heiress of Sir William Clement (whose Mother was, as I take it, Daughter or Sister to the Great Sir Rice ap Thomas, that brought in Henry the V. I I.) had by this*

this Lady Three Sons, Three  
Sondays immediately one  
after the other; who lived  
all to be men of note; Sir  
John, Heir of the Estate,  
and the other Two mention-  
ed in our *Chronicles*, viz  
Sir Henry by Grafton in  
the taking of Gwines, and  
Sir Thomas who was Gen-  
tleman of the Privy Cham-  
ber to Henry the VII. (an  
Honour in those days equal  
to that of a Gentleman  
of the Bed-chamber now)  
by Baker in the said  
Kings Raigne, and in  
Queen Maries time by all  
our Historians for his death  
with

with the Duke of Nor-  
thumberland for the busi-  
ness of Jane Gray.

The other passage was of  
Sir Thomas Palmer, my  
Lord's Grandfather, who  
maried an incomparable La-  
dy of the excellent Family  
of the Pooleys in Suffolke,  
from whence there follows a  
considerable Alliance with  
many of our present Nobility.  
This Sir Thomas in one  
House (viz. Wingham in  
Kent) with this one Lady,  
kept Sixty open Christma-  
ses without ever breaking  
up House.

But

But what I rejoice most  
in, is, that his Lordship has  
enobled even his noble An-  
cestors by his own personal  
virtues, and approved him-  
self no degenerate branch of  
ancient a stock, but that  
posterity will have reason  
to rank him with the emi-  
nemest of his Ancestors.

In short, Reader, the No-  
ble Author's solid and judi-  
cious Writings already pub-  
lished, and others we hope,  
preparing, will sufficiently  
evidence his Virtues to such  
as have no other acquaint-  
ance with his Lordship. But  
to those that know him, I  
need

need say no more, but wish  
both them and the other,  
the benefit of his Learned  
Labours, and that in the  
perusal of them, they may  
find a like satisfaction with  
that, received by him, who  
is

*Courteous Reader,*

*Your unfeigned Friend,*

*and Humble Servant,*

THOMAS PRICE.

Jan. 20.

1670.

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A short and true  
**ACCOUNT**  
 OF THE  
**Material Passages**

In the late WAR between the  
**ENGLISH**  
 AND  
**DUTCH.**

aving carefully observed the whole progress of the now finish'd War between the King of Great Britain and the Belgick United Provinces; I was

was not a little surprised to find in many Pamphlets, and especially by discourse with our late enemies, as if it were a doubt whether the English had the better, nay with some, that they hardly came off upon equal terms : I therefore thought my self bound in Duty (being a Subject of that thrice Illustrious Kingdom, and now by my Travails amongst them, acquainted with what the Dutch are pleased to say) to give the World this true

(3)

true Narration of affairs.

I shall not perplex my self or Reader (referring the Curious to the Printed Manifesto's) with the particular causes of the war, for nicities about Trade must needs be tedious to the disinterested and unconcerned. I am sure we had right on our side (provok't to hostility by several affronts done the King, and real damages to our Merchants) yet I allow the Dutch the same confidence, since all

B 2 Sub-

Subjects are vigorously to assert the quarrel of their Governors, *who alone are responsible to God if it be unjustly grounded.*

I know not whether the States began this war upon their own motive, or instigated by others (as the world generally proclaimed) but doubtless a wise and sober people were never more deceived, nor at any time took wronger measures than they.

I. They believed the King would want Money,

ney, and yet heard that no Parliament could possibly be more cordial then this.

2. They imagined our Fleet was in an ill condition, and yet well knew that never Prince understood and naturally loved all Maritime affairs like ours.

3. They supposed that the discontented people were so numerous, that they might check us even by the assistance of our own Countrey-men, and yet forgot with what universal acclamations the King had been received; and besides

how certain 'tis, that a rich Nation will ever hate a forreign enemy.

4. They also fancied we wanted Commanders, and yet saw that the Duke was our Admiral, so renowned through the world for his valour, that Prince Rupert (that wonder of experience both by Sea and Land) was with us: that the Great Monck was still alive, who could glory in the conquest of their greatest Fleet, and in the death of Van Trump himself: and lastly, that my Lord Sand-

Sandwich was of our Na-  
vy, formerly so much ap-  
prehended by them in the  
Sound.

These were the advan-  
tages which prickt them  
forward, commented up-  
on by some English Fu-  
gitives, and from thence  
they grew so strangely  
high, that to fright us to  
their demands, they sent 1664.  
*Banckert* with a squadron  
who thought to brave in  
our very River.

This were enough to  
shew who the first Ag-  
gressors were, we not ha-

B 4 ving

ving then made the least provision for war : for as it is the English humour to be slow in these beginnings, where such effusion of blood must follow, so when necessitated (with modesty I may say it) no people at any times do more then they, which has also been sufficiently seen in the late contests, as by this Treatise shall be fully proved.

The Bravado afore-mentioned on our coasts, workt the effect imagined by all Englishmen,  
but

but came far short of what the Dutch expected, for instead of cooling our courage, it fired all to revenge, and giving the City an occasion to express their duty (by furnishing the King with two Millions of Guilders) <sup>two hun.</sup>  
<sup>dred thou-</sup>  
<sup>sand l.</sup>  
<sup>English.</sup> it sent the Duke within a while to sea, where by reason of the winter he could only view that Fleet in which he was to triumph the following Summer.

Triumph I may well say, since no victory was ever

ever more clear, and yet it would have been greater, had his Highness had less courage, or his people less passion for him ; For least ( after so much glory to the Kingdom ) some ill chance might befall him ( every one knowing he would be foremost in the new action ) many were content, while he repos'd, the flying enemy should not be so fiercely pursued that night, as we had opportunity to do, through their wretched state and condition.

Twen-

Twenty sail they lost 1665.  
( though they own but Sixteen themselves ) on this fatal third of June, besides four thousand kill'd and wounded , which ruin they thought to have avoided, refusing ( when the wind was for them) to fight the day before, because just that day Twelve years, the Duke of *Albemarle* had given them so remarkable an overthrow. This account we had from the prisoners , with the names of the ships we destroyed ; nor had we the least

least vessel miscarried, unless the *Charity*, a heavy Dutch Prize, which not being able to make equal sail with our Fleet, was intercepted just as the Fight began.

*My Lord Fa'mouth.*  
*My Lord Mulcahy.*  
*Mr Boyle, Second  
Son to the Earl of  
Cork.*  
*My Lord Portland.*  
*My Lord Marlbo-  
rough.*  
*Sir John Laufon.*  
*Recr Adm. Sansom.*

Five Noblemen of great Quality, yet greater in worth, with Two Flag-men, were those of eminence we here lost; and Five hundred in all were the most that either died or were maimed of ours; about Sixty of which fell to

to the share of the Duke, who had been furiously attacqu't by *Opdam* and the *Orange Tree*, the very biggest of all the enemies ships. This last he utterly disabled, making her a prey to his Fireship ; and for the Admiral, he so beat their own Fire about their ears, that she blew up in sight of all our Navy.

Though his Highness had reason to be pleased with his reception at *London*, and universal cry of the people, that *his valour exceeded the former Fame* they

they had heard ; yet he soon found a cross, when he was earnestly beseeched by all the Great ones of the Land , not to hazard that person any more, which being next to their Sovereign's, must needs be so dear to them. This intreaty he would have wav'd, had not the King ( seeing his bravery was sufficiently made manifest ) exprest his tenderness in commanding his stay, and thereupon my Lord *Sandwich*, as Vice-Admiral of *England*, was appoint-

appointed to supply his place.

*Bergen* was the first enterprize of a squadron of his Fleet, where though at that time, through the unkindness of the Danes ( our then pretended friends and encouragers to the action, as may be seen by the Kings Declaration ) we became Masters of nothing : yet the Dutch received an unexpressible loss by their vast expence in bribing , and more especially in the damage of their lading ,  
the

the *East India* ships being there ( with others of the richest of their Merchants ) tore by our great shot, and many of them ( besides what we sunk ) receiving thereby Six foot of water in their Holds.

And here I cannot but regret the death of Mr. *Montague*, the Queens Master of Horse, a young Nobleman, so accomplisht by Nature and his own industry, that 't was always a doubt amongst his friends, whether he had most wit, or were better fashion'd.

Not

Not one Fregat of ours perisht in this attempt, but retiring to the rest of our Fleet near *Schetland*, they had soon the satisfaction in open sea, to take Six men of War, some *West-India* and *Smirna* ships which (besides several Merchants of smaller note) they brought home with them, Two *East-India* men, that to the Company at *Amsterdam*, had been worth at least Ten Millions of their Money; all this we did with the loss of the *Hector* on-

One Mil-  
lion Eng-  
lsh.

C        ly,

ly, a small ship of about Twenty Guns.

Whilst we were thus conquering at sea, we had an implacable enemy at Land to contest with, *viz.* a Mighty Pestilence, which in the compass of a Twelve month , swept away in *London* alone , at least a hundred thousand persons. These we could near reckon by our printed Bills, though many thousands dyed which never were inserted, so that not only all Traffick ceast, but what was more ( as af-

fairs then stood ) the ordinary converse between man and man. The King was forced from his Metropolis, his Soldiers disperſt, and the very Seamen which were provided to recruit our Fleet, were seized upon by that unmerciful Contagion. This decay of Society, Trade, and Men, could not yet hinder the Parliament from presenting the King Twelve Millions and a halfe of Guilders, though they had given him but a little before Twenty One thousand Two hundred and Fifty thousand pound.

five Millions of the same Money.

If the Dutch now found themselves wholly deceiv'd in their Maximes concerning our affairs, *Monsieur Courtin himself* ( the French Ambassador ) began also to see that the accounts he gave his Master did not correspond with our vigorous proceedings : therefore openly said at Oxford, the Parliament might vote as they pleased, but the people ( he was sure ) would never pay the Money. Now had

had he understood our Nation as well as he thought he did, he would have known that no sum was ever yet granted by the Three Estates, but 'twas always paid to a penny. This superficial insight had like to have cost his Master dear, for hoping to underprop the reeling Hollander (and so as 'twas said, to lengthen out our war for his own ends) he presently declared himself our open enemy.

C 3 Though

Though this seem'd  
strange and contrary to  
the former profession of  
that Prince, yet no body  
(as all French men at *London* can testify) was daunt-  
ed, but on the contrary  
we were the more  
picquantly animated by  
it; and truly had not ma-  
ny unexpected accidents  
hapned, *France* and *Den-  
mark* too might have ru-  
ed that breach which they  
then made with us.

1666. The following Sum-  
mer, by Gods assistance  
(for all the late depopu-  
lating

lating Plague ) we put to sea a well manned Fleet under the Command of the Two Illustrious Princes, Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*. Our enemy bruised in the last year shock, lay a bed much longer then we ; and thereupon a strong report coming to Court, that Monsieur *de Beaufort* was arrived near *Rochel* on purpose to joyn with the Dutch ; the Prince was Commanded with a Select squadron to fight him on his way,

or else to rejoyn upon Order with our Navy; a thing imagined to be feazable enough, and which he by his diligence (being called back) wanted but little of effecting, though Winds and Calms retarded him, and what was more, the Dutch were much sooner ready then they themselves first thought of.

Twas Friday the first of June when our General (by reason of this division) drawing towards the *Thames*, perceived the

the Enemy at Anchor near *Newport*, and there-upon advising with his Commanders, and finding that if he should now make for the River, they would certainly pursue him (to the apparent danger of his heavy Prizes and Merchant men of war) he resolves to attaque them first; and so with 54 sail (the whole force he had) he set upon 91 of the Enemy.

In the beginning of the encounter, the noise of the Guns was plainly heard

heard at *London*, which decreasing afterwards, we concluded the Dutch were running home. But the next day a powerful recruit joyn'd them, which together with the former odds forc't us to retire towards our own shore. Then did the valour and conduct of our Great Captain appear, for being himself ever in the rear, he so warmly received the pursuers, that most of the weakest of our ships made a commodious and safe retreat; much

much contrary to what I have seen the Hollanders do, who when they fly, make all the sail they can, little pittyng him that stays last behind.

Having thus for Three days fought with twice our number (and in our Retreat, wearing our Lights all night, which the Enemy durst not do though he brag'd of Conquest) the Prince himself came up; but after almost a whole days fight (prosecuted with the greatest Gallantry ima-

imaginable) by an unfortunate shot his Masts came by the board, just as he was ready to reap the fruits of his valour. This accident moved his generous rage to an unspeakable pitch, for though he could still fight, yet he knew he should not be able to follow when the enemy fled, as afterwards they did, leaving us indisputably (as we thought) Masters of the Sea, though with the present disability of many, and loss of some of our men

men of War. Those that miscarried of our side, were the *Paul* and Two others, all of them lately taken by us from the enemy, and which the General Commanded to be fired, because in the Retreat they could not sail so well as the rest. The *Bull* (got from them before) perisht here, the *Converte*  
~~tine~~ also (formerly theirs) we lost, though since re-taken; and for the ships that were really English, they were the *Prince* that run astrand and so burnt,  
the

the *Essex* afterwards cast away, to which may be added also, (because I would omit nothing) the *Loyal George* and *Little Catherine*, Two hired Merchant men, which sort of ships every body knows are of small esteem in our Navy: Nor have the Dutch any thing to shew but the *Swiftsure*, though their advantage in number was far greater then could possibly be hoped for by them. They say a Mist separated us, otherwise they would have

have done greater wonders, and publickly confess, Four only of their great Ships were here destroyd ( which the Prince of *Monaco*, and Count *de Guiche*, who saw the havock, must needs laugh at ) when as our General gave the Parliament an account of near Twenty, averred by their own Seamen and Officers. But truly I will ever acknowledge they had here much the better, since they could once fight and leave the victory disputable.

Twas

Twas the latter end of July before we repaired again, having the Enemy not only a whole month before us at sea, but lying also on our coasts, and dating their Letters and Passports, *From aboard the Seven Provinces in the mouth of the River of London.* Yet no sooner did we weigh Anchor, but they retired, and within Five hours clean ran away, and had they not had most wonderful fortune, their Zealand Squadron had been totally ruined

ined in this fight ; we lost  
onely the *Resolution* which  
was burnt , and though  
(besides what we sunk)  
we actually took but  
*Bankerts* ship , and the  
*Snake of Harlem* ; I look  
upon this victory of more  
real consequence to *Eng-*  
*land*, then if we had de-  
stroy'd Twenty times that  
number in any other en-  
gagement.

For on our side we  
found by experience that  
though the War, Pestil-  
ence and haste, had dis-  
appointed us of real Sea-  
D men,

men, yet that ordinary English men (pickt up in the streets) were as fit for busines when they came to the push, as if they had almost been bred at sea from their Cradle. On the other side , we saw that nothing could infuse any true courage into our Enemies ; for after mighty conceit of their own success , their own visible finding themselves present Masters at sea , and their constant news of our weakness, no sooner we came to blows, but

but they all strove who could get soonest home. Nay our victory was so unquestionable, that though we sent them shattered to their Ports, yet we ourselves were in a manner as fit to fight the next day as if we had never engaged.

And here also tis to be with admiration observed, that being equal in number, ( for in this encounter we had 86 men of war, and 17 Fire-ships a-piece) they durst not stay the flowing of a Tide,

D 2 when

when as we with half their force fought them about Seven weeks before for Three whole days together.

Some Four or Five of our ships that could not be there so exactly Rigg'd we sent for *England*, well knowing we might use this curiosity, since there was no danger of our enemies coming out, and after we had lain a good while neer the *Maes* (to dare them that fled in) we made for the *Texel*, picking up several Merchants

chants by the way.

Before we came there (by reason of the Northerly winds that kept us back) many of their Merchants got to harbor, but presently the Two Admirals seeing them thus truly dismayed, sent a party to awake them, which landing on the *Schelling* (after a rich plunder) set fire on *Brandaris*, and then burnt (beside *Two men of War*) *One hundred fifty one ships*, the far greatest part of which were richly laden.

D 3      The

The crowd was such that we could not exactly reckon them at first, yet afterwards by prisoners and Spies, we found the just number ; nor did I ever hear the Hollanders themselves esteem the loss much less, but for their neighbors, they always gave it out to be greater. This prodigious exploit, which our Admirals so prudently design'd was executed by that Commander Sir Robert Holmes, born to be a scourge to the Dutch while they

*they are at war with England.*

We yet a while continued on their coasts, but at length our victuals being spent, we were unhappily compell'd to retire. Nor had it been convenient, it may be, when we first put out, to have made larger stores, seeing that would have required more time, and besides we were to fight as soon as ever we hoisted sail.

When we were thus gone, out comes the enemies Fleet, consisting of

D 4 about

about 60 or 70 tatter'd ships; these they were forc't to expose, because either the people would stone the Officers, or else they must have discover'd their own distrest condition. As soon as we were ready, we speedily went after them, altogether assured that these were our own; nor was this a vain conjecture according to human probability; for if we still had the better when they were flush and gay, nor at any time less than Twenty above us

(ex-

(except in the last engagement) we might now well imagine a Conquest, the like advantage in number being ours, and besides, there was scarce one of their ships so well furnish'd as usually.

Twas plainly evident they had no mind to fight, since they sought not for us, and we on the contrary were constrain'd to search after them : but at last when we found them on the coast of *France*, a strong N. E. wind (or inclining that way) not only

Iy caused the accidental  
firing of *a hired Merchant  
man*, and took away from  
us all means of fighting,  
but at the same time oc-  
casioned *the total burning  
of the great and famous  
City of London.*

Here was a loss that  
would have crackt the  
back of any place but  
*England*, and such a real  
noise it made through the  
world, that I have seen  
beyond sea printed Re-  
lations, in which the de-  
triment amounted to 100  
Millions of English Mo-  
ney.

ney. This computation was as just as the other reflexions strangers make upon our affairs, but though it came not to so high a pitch, yet I believe both the *United Provinces* and *France* it self, would have found it a difficult thing ( after such a blow ) to pay 18 Dutch Millions, for so much the Parliament gave the King, besides what I have already mentioned.

The prosperous success at sea, was a consolation sent from Heaven after our

Eighteen  
hundred  
thousand  
pound.

our misfortunes at home, and made our enemies earnestly desirous of peace finding nothing but ruine by war, for besides other losses, there were 80 and odd Prizes brought into our Ports by the Fleet that year, over and above what was taken by Privateers. In *Holland* and the neighbouring Countreys, all Trades stood idle, most bewailing the losses they had suffered, and others fearing new ones, should they again venture: and as the number of their  
Mer-

Merchants is incredible, so it added still more Fuel to their Complaints and Misery.

The *Danes* on the other side had no vent for their *Stock fish*; and if the Governor of *Bergen* found himself warm in that cold Region, yet this brought little comfort to the rest of his Kings Dominions. Neither did the Scotch Capers fail of taking some of their *Men of War* for all the care that was used in not exposing them to danger.

The

(46)

The desire of the Spanish *Netherlands* made France unwilling (as twas thought) the Dutch and we should agree, though otherwise they found no small inconvenience by the war; for there was a general want of Traffick over all the Countrey, and Wines lay upon their hands at *Bourdeaux* and in other places. Several losses the Merchants had at Sea, and especially that rich *Madagascar* ship lately sunk by the English. but that which perchance toucht

toucht His Majesty as much as any thing , was to find His Royal Navy decrease, we having taken the *Victory*, and afterwards the *Ruby*, *La Rochel's* ship, one of the primeſt then of all his Fleet.

Upon the motion for a Treaty , our King conſents , as being always moſt willing to hear of peace, ſo the Conditions were any way anſwerable to his juſt demands. Nor was the War a pleaſure to *England*, conſidering our great afflictions by

by Plague and Fire ; and  
( which is not to be belie-  
ved but by them that saw  
it ) we were opprest by  
too much plenty and a-  
bundance.

The Enemy proposed  
*Dover* or any other place  
in our Countrey for the  
meeting, but His Majesty  
would by no means con-  
sent to that, resolving to  
send his Plenipotentiaries  
to them, since they were  
greedy of a peace , well  
knowing the insolencies of  
People in a Common-wealth,  
and that the ruined mul-  
titude

*tude are the best Mediators  
in such a Treaty.*

Many beyond sea did applaud his wisdom , in using dexterity , though the Game was acknowledged ours by all : for now they saw the Commonalty could not be so easily deluded by the self-interested Cabal ; in making the unreasonableness of the English , the cause why the war continued , and 'twas also most certainly sure , that if the Rabble should find their own Ministers in fault

E ( as

(as twas easie at *Breda* to shew them the truth) they would have tore them in pieces, and made them the objects of their suddain fury.

Though *Breda* was agreed upon, yet a cessation of Arms was deny'd by our King, because he well knew, could the Dutch before the Treaty were concluded, get home but their Merchants, and send out others, they would then be far harder to be brought to Reason. Things standing thus, each party

party prepared (whilst their Embassadors were a Treating) to do as much harm as they could ; and therefore now 'twill be proper to bring to the Test, who shew'd most wit, both in the designe, and also in the execution of that Summers busi-  
ness.

1667.

It had often been (at the beginning of the breach) proposed to the King by several knowing persons, and especially by Sir John Lawson (that approved Seaman) that

E 2 since

since the whole life of the Dutch consisted in Trade, a Pyratical War was much the cheaper, and would far sooner undoe them; for could they traffick, they would hardly value the expence they were at, but perchance grow rich upon it, as 'twas well known they did in their long contest with *Spain*. Now whilst our Fleet was in a body, we could not wholly attend after Prizes, and if they fell in our mouths (as often they did) we were still the more obliged to fortune.

His

His Majesty could by no means then be satisfied with the advice, conceiving it a dishonour to him ( who was justly thought to be the most potent Prince in the world at Sea ) not to make it good by open bravery, and more especially, it being uncertain how long this war might continue. But when at last his many victories were obvious to all, and that certainly the Enemy ( who so much desired it) would conclude a peace, he now

E 3      judg'd

judg'd it prudence to Equippe onely a light Fleet, which dividing it self into every Quarter, must assuredly make spoil of their Merchants, and that each los<sup>s</sup> would still come closer home, and let them farther see theirover-fight in provoking him. He was also certain, should he Man out his biggest ships, 't would be so much Money thrown away; because they ( that were always beaten ) would never hazard in a Treaty to fight, for in likelyhood there would

would be a peace, and to be worsted at that present (as they might well fear if they engaged) must needs add a heavy score to the old reckoning.

On the other side, if through this small preparation of *England*, the Enemy should come out (which was the only thing we were to apprehend) most wise men concluded, they could probably do no harm on our coast; and for the Bravado 't would be nothing, since our valour and their weakness

ness was sufficiently known to every body. Nor can a Bankrupt be valued equal to a rich Merchant if on the Exchange he happens, perchance to have Money in hand when the other has none about him, having newly laid it out upon some great and advantagious adventure.

The Hollanders finding we did not set out our main Fleet, made ready theirs withall the haste they could, hoping now to do great matters, this unlookt for occasion offering

ferring it self unto them. After a vast expence in fitting up, they set sail, and understanding afore, by those Fugitives amongst them, and their Complices then in *England*, that our great ships lay at *Chatham*, they prosecuted that designe: At their first being out, they met with high winds, but at length went up the *Thames*, and burnt there Three ships formerly taken from them, greatly damnified (though repairable) Three more, and car-

carried along with them  
the *Jonathan*, a small  
Dutch Prize, and the Hull  
of the *Royal Charles*, for  
'twas unrigg'd, and very  
narrowly escap'd the Fire.

Though I do not deny  
Monsieur *De Witt* to be a  
man of parts, yet success  
can never make me think  
any action prudent, when  
'twould have been cer-  
tainly more then ridicu-  
lous had it miscarried.

It was a Million to  
one that this succeeded;  
for had the winds turned  
boisterous: (as both afore  
and

and after they proved )  
they might have well en-  
dangered all their Fleet ;  
or had the Officer who  
had the charge ( and Prin-  
ces can but Command )  
drawn up the ships ac-  
cording to express Order,  
the attempt had been  
wholly vain. For the King  
had so guarded all his  
coasts ( and *Chatham* of  
any place he had least rea-  
son to fear) that what en-  
deavor soever the enemy  
made, they were still beat-  
en back with unspeakable  
shame and loss. Yee I call  
his

this good fortune ( nay *Falshood as't was thought of the Superintendent*) you have seen the whole harm that was done us ; which nevertheless cost ( besides the great charge of this enterprise ) an infinite number of men, and Ten ships according to our estimate, though they seem not to acknowledge so many. Judge then whither the gain can cowntervail the expence.

If they took in hand this designe to further the Treat or, I must say they un-

understand the affairs of *England*, just as I thought they did ; for this was the only way to exasperate, even them that favoured the accommodation ; and had there not been great endeavors used , by some that naturally love quiet, to pacify the King ( in truly shewing the action in it self was slight, and that it deserv'd not to make him change his inclinations to peace, so advantagious for Christendom) the Contriver would have occasioned more harm to his

his Countrey, then per-  
chance in his whole life  
time, he could have again  
redrest.

If they undertook the  
designe to show that their  
State is Mighty, it either  
argues a great weakness  
of judgement in them-  
selves, or a beleef, that the  
rest of the Civilized world  
are fools. For how is it  
possible that any wise man  
can think them an equal  
match for *England*, when  
as they never met our  
Navy, but that the blow  
was deadly: Nay they  
judg'd

judg'd it fit to rejoyce like Conquerors, because they were not ruined when halfe our Fleet attacqu'd them ; had they beat us at sea and then burnt a Sculler onely, I would have said the action had been great ; but since we were as strong as ever, had been victorious in the last Engagement, had in pursuance of it, fir'd 151 Merchants, ( besides a Town and some men of War ) I may lawfully averre all that they did ( yes had they done there

Ten

Ten times as much) prov's no more that they are able to cope with us, *then that the Spaniards are hard enough for France in this present attaque*, if they should make some little spoil in the Dominions of his Christian Majesty, when his Army was employ'd in another enterprize.

He that expects not accidents in war will find himself deceived ; Nor shall the wisest results of a Council-board, bring always success along with them. I am sure it may be

be well now said, that the Dutch committed a Solæcisme in the whole frame of their Project, when they fell out with us ; Nor must the King of *France* himselfe be free from mistakes , even in this very busines of *Flanders* ; for had he last year set out one month sooner, or left *Charle-Roy* alone, he might ( as most think ) have been Master now of *Brussells*, *Gaunt*, and of *Antwerp* also. I doubt not but he had reason for his delay, and so

F had

had the English in not Equipping; for we not onely intended ( as I said afore ) to destroy their Merchants , but effected this to so high a degree, that in no year there were so many Prizes taken as in the last.

1667. Sir *Jeremy Smith* brought Thirty eight considerable ones into *Ireland*, and took also a ship destin'd for the *East-Indies*, in which were 100 Guns, and the whole loss of that very vessel, was valued in *Holland*, to be at least

least a Million. What this year Sir John Harman did in the *West Indies* ( besides what was done formerly ) as ruining at one time a Fleet of near Twenty Sail of French and Dutch, and in taking also several Places, and Prizes from them, was so known to every body, that their own Gazets were fain to confess the greatest part. None of our other Squadrons were behind hand in their duty, no not the Scottish Privateers, who so wonder-

F 2      fully

*One  
hundred  
thousand  
pound  
English.*

fully bestirred themselves, that all the Ports in their Countrey were throng'd with what they took.

The Enemy in the mean time gloried as Masters of the Sea, and yet brought home the smallest effects imaginable. For first they assautted a poor Fort at *Harwich*, and there receiv'd a considerable loss, which doubtless was no mean disgrace, seeing (by having so many good ones in possession) they must needs know what a

For-

Fortification is. *Van-Ness* also was as little fortunate in his exploit in the *Thames*, for after great hopes he was fain to return with the loss of one of his Branders and (as 'twas said) of one of his men of war, it costing us but Four Fire-ships, which they in their Relations were pleased to change into Fregats. In short, their Fleet hovered the whole Summer on our coasts, dividing it self from *East* to *West*, and never took one Prize (that

I remember) which a Capper of Three Guns would not be ashamed to boast of.

1667. If the Dutch look upon this last year as prosperous, I am sure it must not be upon the account of their Arms ; but if they so deem it, because then they concluded a peace, I think they have great reason on their side : Nevertheless this I must say, as 'twas more then a wonder, that at *Chatham* they did any thing, so 'twas the same odds they had

had not been afresh involved in a war, which at first they themselves apprehended, and their wise ones seem'd to wish, that the enterprize had never been; therefore the Sieur *De Witt* has little cause to applaud his judgement herein.

Let his Brother also (the Grand Baily of *Puten*) think what he pleases of his Atchievement, yet I am perswaded, his posterity will find more real satisfaction in his *Golden Cup*, given him

F 4 by

by the States, then in the glory they shall inherit by the action.

I confess I was troubled when I heard a ship fell into their hands, which His Highnesse once made use of, and had thereby the Honour to wear his Flag: but I was soon again satisfied, when I call'd again to mind *that Sampson himself might be taken by surprize, and that this vessel could not choose but have an ill end, seeing it had Cromwel for its Founder.*

Those

Those which I have already mentioned, together with the *Patrick* and *Elizabeth*: ( this last being fired near *Virginia* ) are all the damage our men of war have suffered by the Dutch, either in the great or private encounters.

And here also 'tis to be remembred, that though severāl of their Fregats have been taken by our Cruisers, &c. I have nevertheless made no recital af them, for the former account is onely what has happened at the meet-

meeting of both our Navies. Now concerning the losses the English Merchants sustained, tis wonderful how small they have been, considering we are a Trading Nation, and the number of our Enemies we had to deal with.

Our *Hamborough* Fleet (with a Merchant-man Convoy) was that, of the onely consequence, which fell into their hands at a clap; nor could any thing be more accidental then this; for his Highness

re-

returned from the *Texel* sooner then they imagined, and the Ketch also that was sent with Advertisement mist meeting them, by reason of the sudden rising of the winds. The detriment hereby to us ( for the Holland Traders had therein no small share ) was reckoned on the *Exchange* at 50 thousand pound; and being also my self inquisitive, I was informed by as knowing a Merchant as any that Trades, that 20 thousand pound more was the utmost

most, supposing some for their credit had concealed their misfortunes. *Bristol* next to *London* receiv'd most damage, and that especially by Privateers; yet (though I had more means of knowing this than ordinary) I never heard that what was taken any manner of way, exceeded the summes afore-mentioned. The rest of our losses were most of them single ships of small value, and for the Colliers I know not how to Rate them: yet doubtless

as

as their lading was mean, so the prizes made of them could not be considerable: But to conclude this point, let all matters be examin'd, and 'twill be found (though I mention not the *East India* men we took (*that one ship of theirs (I mean the Solomon which Sir Thomas Allen sunk in the Streights, just as the war broke out) was of as much value, as what was got from us were it all put together.*

As nothing could be a greater argument *a priore*,  
that

that the Dutch began the war with us, then our being Hectored by *Bankert*, when we had no shiping ready : so nothing *a posteriori* can prove it better, then the not providing our selves with forrain Friends and Allies. This is always the first thing dreamt of by those that begin a war, therefore tis plain ( as I said ) we were not (for all our being long before provok't by a train of injuries) the Aggressors in this hostility.

Though

Though the Dutch were thus early active to strengthen themselves with such helps, yet the knowledge of our power made them long miss their hopes; nay for all the after game was ours, we seemed to have much the more likelihood, of drawing into a League the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Spaniards*; but when his Christian Majesty saw that a single enemy, though never so potent, could not keep us in play (and then an agreement would follow

low to the prejudice of his  
designe in *Flanders*) he  
was openly forc'd to pro-  
claim war against us. 'Tis  
true, he never ventur'd his  
Fleet in battle for them,  
(his prudence showing  
him the danger) yet the  
Dutch in reality receiv'd  
as much benefit by him  
as ever people did by  
neighbor.

For he not only put  
life into them again,  
(which is the best single  
succor imaginable) but  
sent them men also, when  
fear and loss had brought  
them

them to the utmost dispair. This was yet not all he did, for by declaring himself on their side, he made a powerful faction against Munster, so that that generous Prelate was necessitated to a peace. The Swedes also by this means were resolv'd to be Neuters, and the Spaniards ( fearing an occasion of Quarrel ) absolutely refused any union with us.

As he thus took off their present and future enemies, so he gain'd them  
G friends;

friends; for now *Lunenbourg* had no difficulty to favour altogether their party; nor did *Brandenburg* and the *Danes* refuse for Money to enter into that Confederacy. Money it cost the Dutch indeed, and to the quantity by forgiving debts and advancing new sums, that no King of *England* will ever buy the friendship of any man at so extraordinary a Rate.

Doubtless these are curiosities, and all these the *United Provinces* receiv'd, yet

yet the whole world still gave us the Bay's ; nor did we ever receive the least shock, but what came casually and by chance : casually I call that (and justly in war I may do it) when one party is forc't always to yield to the valor of the other, and then comes a lucky hit (which no ill Gamester but sometimes finds) giving him some little encouragement, perchance to his further destruction in the end. And truly no Maxim is with more assurance

receiv'd by all the people  
of England, then *that as*  
*often as we meet the Dutch*  
*at sea, so often we shall cer-*  
*tainly return with Conquest.*

His Christian Majesties  
engaging in this war, at the  
instance of the Low-Coun-  
try's, brought to my mind  
a passage out of *Plutarch*  
concerning *Pyrrhus*, that  
active of *Epirre*.

Cineas one of the chief-  
est of his Council, (and  
of singular esteem both  
for his Parts and Loyal-  
ty) seeing his Master  
passionately bent upon a  
War

War with the Romans, ask'd him one day what he would doe when he had brought them under? The Prince answered, *That then there would be no doubt, but he should master all Italy; what will you doe after that,* continues the Statesman? *Why then I will take Sicily, and what then must be done?* *I will conquer Africa* reply'd he; *and how when we attain that success? then no body will oppose me* (says he) *in swallowing all Greece;* and what

must we do after all this good fortune? Why then answers Pyrrhus we will repose our selves, and do nothing but Feast and be merr; but Sir, says Cineas, what is it that binders us now from this injowment, for all the satisfaction designed, is at present in your power without trouble and effusion of blood.

And with this satisfaction, we doubt not but his most Christian Majesty will generously content himself, since the Plenipotentiaries at Aquisgrane

grane have so far proceeded in the Treaty; and if it succeed , will I hope make even the English themselves forget the late unexpected Conjunction , which yet did us much honor , though our Enemy much good at that time , but adds nothing to his strength for the future, I speak my hopes with the greater confidence , in regard of his Christian Majesties Heroical temper, which will undoubtedly dispose him rather to em-

ploy his Armes against the Turk in the Assistance of the brave Venetians ; and indeed of Christendome in their common danger : and also in his own Revenge , upon those barbarous Infidels for their late affronts, then to any other purpose imaginable.

Were the Dutch able to match us in goodness of Men and Fregats (as in both without all question we excell ) yet we should be much too hard for them in any open and publick war. For as all their

their wealth proceeds from Trade, so the now stopping of that, reduces them (being Six times as populou,) to a far more distrest condition, than the former low state they were in: Whereas *England* has of it self enough to subsist did no Native meddle with forreign Commerce: tis certain, to alter the present method, would greatly discompose us, but still it may be done, since we find by our Records, when generally we took this employment upon

on us ; and know, as the *Venetians* and others , brought from abroad what our Luxury covet-ed ; so the *Genoese* the *Flemings*, and the *Jews* managed for the most part that little Traffick we had at home ; yet e-ven then we were so eminent in the world, that no Kingdom but *France* stood in competition with us. *And it also* ( much a-bout the same time) we conquered twice , making one of their Kings our pri-soner, and forcing the other

*to surrender up his Crown  
and Power.*

In the next place we can maintain a war far cheaper than they, which doubtless seems a Paradox, considering theirs as a frugal State, and ours as a Magnificent and Splendid Monarchy. Nevertheless this in reality is so, for as Nineteen parts of them out of Twenty grow rich only by negotiating abroad (whilst the number of the *English* that thus thrive, are inconsiderable to the whole) so

soe though the people of each nation should be Taxed alike, yet their charge would be more then double ours, by their expending equally, and still having the loss in their usual income, far greater; therefore he who considers what the Enemy spent in this war, and what they might have otherwise got, will find there is no proportion in our expence. And also to this, that near halfe their Subjects live from hand to mouth by Maritime employ-

ployment, which being interrupted, together with a turbulent spirit ( essential to all Democratical Governments ) will presently drive them to the utmost Tumults and Commotions.

Lastly, the meaner sort with us contribute nothing, or at most, very little to the war, Taxes being in a manner wholly on the Land, when as in *Holland*, the Poor pay more then the Rich ; for 'tis not only easier to find the worth, of a poor man's

man's little personal Estate, and then to a Farthing he pays his just proportion) but also the bulk of Money raised, comes from great Excizes, so that a man of wealth may retrench his expences if he please, when as the Commonalty must buy necessaries and cannot possibly live nearer then they did afore.

In *England* there is no Excize but upon drink; neither is any body (except he that makes it for gain) liable to the Tax, nor

nor do they pay for what is ordinarily drunk above Six pence a Barrel, and yet this gentle Impost brings in the King 400 thousand pound a year. And by the way the Reader must know that this vast summe is no part of what is allow'd by us for war, but a *Regalo* given by the people to His Majesty. Their Loyal Zeal also rested not here one-ly, but proceeded to a larger gift, *viz.* an hereditary Tax on their Chimneys, which when (by

a little practice ) it comes to be fully understood, will perchance amount to double the other summe. If then our former Kings have been so potent in their Generations (which *France* and *Spain* well know ) how considerable must our present Prince be to his Allies and terrible ( by such an additional and permanent Revenue) to those that make themselves his enemies.

As his Receits are great, so his Authority also; Nay, *Sextus Quintus* was used to

to say (and *Philip* the II. felt it) that there was but one absolute Monarch in Christendom, and that was Queen Elizabeth. What power soever she had, is now devolv'd to this her Successor, nor is she lookt upon in *England* to have usurped on their priviledges, for neither *Deborah*, *Jael*, nor *Judith*, have left a greater Fame among the *Israelites*, then she to this day amongst the people.

We have now finisht a sharp and bloody War,  
H which

which nevertheless leaves not the least rancor (that I know) in the heart of any English man ; and the reason of it is, because we have generally an affection for these our neighbors, esteeming them an industrious and sober people; and yet were the hatred as great as could be, I should never once wish their total ruine ; for *as Rome wanted something to keep it self walking, when Æmulous Carthage was gone, so too much Supinity may debauch our Seamen, when they find*

(99)

*nothing in the Ocean  
that can look big upon  
them.*

If any man should now ask me what we got by this war, I must answer (and that truly) all that a wealthy Kingdom can desire; for as tis the chiefest of all Sciences to know ones self, so the first thing a Nation ought to wish for, is to understand what it can throughly do. Let those poor people (whose clime nor industry can afford them necessaries) quarrel for Prey, whilst

H 2      we.

we content our selves with victories, and are assur'd besides, we can still obtain them as often as we are provokt.

What demonstration (humanely speaking) can be more plain then this, since we knew how to conquer when Two such Kings aided our Enemy, who by himself dare bid defiance to any other adversary whatsoever: nor had we the least assistance from our Neighbors; and yet at the same time we lost (as I said) so rich a City

City, and endured such a Plague, that no Northern Countrey ever felt the like afore.

That we had the better all along is acknowledg'd not by *Europe* alone, but by *Affrick* also ; for though the *Barbary Pyrats* ( bred in an Air as false as their Religion ) saw we were fully employ'd, having many Enemies on our hands, yet durst they not break with us, refusing nevertheless at the same time all sort of Treaty both with *French* and *Dutch*, nay, with any thing else that

that had combined against  
*England*.

I must now think of drawing this my short discourse to an end, having been (though I love much my Countrey) faithfull in all I related; for had I meddled with any depths of intrigue, people might have thought, 'twas *gratis* said, and that I had deceiv'd them; but what I write is so plain, that the meanest capacity may easily trace out my failings; nor can any Reader imagine *England* after a Three years war the less

less considerable, if we had lost a ship or two more than I mention; and I am sure if it be so ( which I know nothing of, but on the contrary beleeve I have not erred in a tittle ) *'tis only some retaken Prize, or some poor Merchant-man hired in our service.* For the future I doubt not of a good understanding between these our late enemies and us, because they are with reason (as I said) reputed a wise and prudent Nation.

FINIS.